J: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 gives it back. The *akouni*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his
852 livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two;
875 among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

585 The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

●584 Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to [836] casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

582 By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at four-
584 teen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

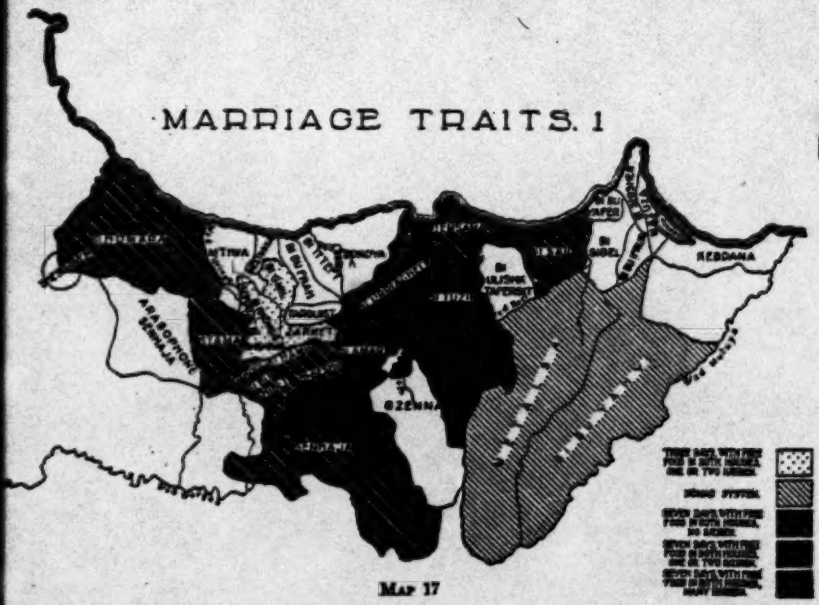
A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married [805] until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

582 Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *veins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One reason for exceptionally early marriages is the desire of the parents to have their 584
wishes fulfilled before the children are old enough to make preferences and insist upon them strongly.

When a boy has decided which girl he would like to marry, or when his parents have decided for him and have argued him into submission, the boy's mother seeks out the girl's mother in the women's market or in the ordinary market, and broaches the subject in such a circumlocutory way that if the latter does not show preliminary signs of acceptance the



MAP 17

former can change the subject without having committed herself too deeply. If the two women are both willing to have their children wed, the men of the family take the matter up officially. The boy's father, or if he has no father his paternal uncle or elder brother, 583
meets the girl's father in market and proposes it over again; at this time the bargaining 584
over the price commences. This stipend is very variable in amount. Before the war it ranged from one to five or six hundred dollars, until it was fixed by Abd el Krim at one hundred. The amount depended upon the prominence of the girl's parents, as well as upon her own personal usefulness, attractiveness, and character; in case of exogamous marriage her own personal desirability was completely overshadowed by political factors. Today the marriage price has again become variable, but does not attain as high a point as it did before the war, on account of the general poverty and the present disinclination to have children. Before the war marriage was eagerly sought by the *bones*, who wanted to increase

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

583 their numbers as rapidly as possible so as to swell their fighting forces and replace losses. Often this desire caused the marriage of youthful couples who themselves were not yet old
584 enough to desire it. At present, however, since warfare is forbidden, the incentive is lacking.

The price of brides in Taghruth, as well as in other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, is fixed at seven dollars.

584 When the identity of the couple has been established by the consent, at least, of their parents, and in most cases by their own unofficial mutual consent, the groom goes to the clerk in order to obtain the necessary papers, one of which is given to the bride. The wedding cannot be held until the price agreed upon and stipulated in the written contract has been paid. This does not frequently cause a serious delay, because if the groom cannot produce the money some other member of his family will do it for him, expecting him to pay it back later in kind or in labor. Boys who have purchased their wives at the expense of an elder brother may live with that brother afterwards until payment has been made, and until they have built or bought houses of their own.

584 As soon as betrothal is certain, when the papers have been made out and the money
304 paid, the bride is tattooed. The designs have already been discussed under the subject of material culture, and their distribution shown on a map.[1] The tattooing is usually done gratis by an old woman of the bride's *tein* who is adept at the art. If there is no one in the *tein* competent to do this a woman is called in from some other *tein* and is paid for her work.

This operation is done as soon as possible, because it is desirable that the skin should heal before the wedding. On the other hand, families are usually careful not to have their daughters tattooed until there is no chance of having the wedding called off, since to have an unmarried tattooed daughter on their hands would be as shameful as having an untattooed wife.

585 The date of the wedding is in some regions limited to a certain season of year, and in
786 others is purely voluntary. Among the central tribes of the Rif, and much of the Senhaja, these festive ceremonies take place only in the month of September, when most of the crops are in, and while the grape picking is going on. Grape picking is a season of carnival; the people sleep in the vineyards, and after and between intervals in weddings the men and women go up to the vineyards, where they joke, shout and shoot off guns, and play games; the men wrestle together, and the women and men form sides and throw stones at each other. The whole aspect of the celebration is one of license, although by this I do not wish to imply that there is a definite practice of a license night. It is only natural, however, that this should be the season for weddings, when spirits are running higher than at any other
585 time of the year. September weddings are the rule in Temsaman, northern Beni Ulishk, all of Beni Tuzin except el Azib of Meidhar, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, all the Senhaja Sghir except Beni Gmil, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Ulad Azam. In the rest of the Rif, Senhaja, and in Ghomara, weddings take place not only in September but also at other times. In some parts of the September area, this arrangement has begun to break down since the war.

As soon as a groom determines when he is to be married, he chooses a number of his friends and schoolmates, usually about twenty, to act as *iuziren*, a word derived from the Arabic *wazir*, with the implication that the groom is a sultan and the chosen friends his

[1] See above, p. 87.

583 The foundation of the nuclear family is through marriage,
584 which in the Rif is a "contract of buying and selling"[27], for, as the result of an amount (i.e. of money) stipulated by her father, a woman becomes her husband's absolute property[28]. A petition is made by the father or legal representatives of the woman; he, or
583 they, fix the bride-price (ssdhāq) and the manner of payment. This
584 contract, until very recent times, was unwritten[29], and the fact
212 that the jma'ath knew of the agreement was sufficient (to make it binding). Even today (1935), most old men do not have paper (i.e. documents--r-knwaghadh, sing. r-kinghadh.)[30] By virtue of this
583 contract, a woman, who is never her own mistress, changes owners
584 and becomes the property of her husband, who uses and abuses her as
562 such, always for his own benefit, either improving her lot or
593 abandoning her[31].
586

583 Of all the acts which must be performed prior to marriage, none is as important as (payment of) the bride-price; and the day that the boy's father and the girl's father are together in the latter's house, accounts are settled and the former hands the bride-price over to the latter. From this sum, the bride's father buys his daughter's trousseau, with an advance on account from the groom; the latter's representatives, some friends and a fqih are also in attendance. Part of the bride-price is given to the father (immediately) so that he can buy clothing for his daughter; the rest of this clothing is bought by the groom; and the remainder of the bride-price is paid in money[32].

592 593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age 883 [785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time. [584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage, 885 593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in [591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the [594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own. 883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and 885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council 623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he 616 794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].

575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced 593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there 586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

553 is, however, only a descriptive prelude to the much more elaborate presentations which occur in relation to nuptial ceremonies.

585 114 The marriage ceremony is probably the most socially significant public ceremony which takes place in the Rif. The spectacle and complexity of Berber marriage have prompted numerous studies, of which Westermarck (1914) is the most complete and Maunier (1927) the most useful. A rather detailed description of the ceremony among the Beni Iznassen, a tribe neighboring the Rif, is given by Renisio (1932). Accounts for the Rif proper are given by Coon (1931) and Hart (1956). My own description is not at odds with any of the above but the point of view differs from all except possibly Maunier.

585 The marriage process can be broken into three separate divisions of time and into the associated ceremonies and rituals which accompany these three periods. The first period, which [584] takes place prior to the wedding, is one in which the preliminary negotiations take place between the parents of the prospective couple. The second division is the actual wedding festival itself, which takes place over a two or three-day period. The final division is the ceremony held on the seventh day after the marriage. I shall discuss each of these periods in terms of the strategy of bargaining, the expenses entailed by social and religious imperatives, and the function of gift and countergift.

584 In the initial period negotiations are conducted between the male relatives on both sides, the most prominent participants being the fathers of the prospective bride and groom or, if they

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated 178 621 and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with 595 multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The 369 urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the 593 man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 584 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society 571 was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- 602 ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is 178 guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy 571 overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 792 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

178 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was
411 that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quar-
602 rels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situ-
578 ations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matri-
lineal lines.

121 I think that the principle of unilineality is not as
611 important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindus-
(591) trial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated
to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this
makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the
structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its
parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform
to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many non-
584 industrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must
decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce
bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and
set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either
type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of
an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on
the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the
couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter
should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely con-
sulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic
as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely
chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community [521] such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family. If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are, however, the majority.

584 562 586 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initiating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son into a marriage that he stremuously opposes, since all the advantages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 [782] [571] Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match, the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of [593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as [464] [429] akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such circumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 581 582 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

584 that the following factors are evaluated in each case.

581 Advantages in marrying a relative are:

582 1. You don't fight over whose family is superior.

2. You know the girl beforehand and have a fair idea of what sort of a person you are getting.

3. It is a simpler property arrangement.

4. Your family already knows the girl, presumably likes her, and there is no problem of an outsider coming in and being picked upon by the women of the household.

5. If a husband is fighting with his wife, the common family relatives will pressure him into treating the woman better in order to decrease the possibility of divorce.

On the other hand, there are a countervailing series of factors which discourage marriage to a relative:

1. It is harder to be in love with or be attracted sexually by a woman with whom you have grown up and whom you regard as a sister.

2. It is socially and economically advantageous to spread out one's contacts through alliances with non-relatives.

3. With an outsider, a non-related wife, the husband has more power because his wife does not have any natural allies with the household or the family.

4. Although property arrangements are more complicated, there is a greater possibility of bringing additional property into the family with an outside wife than there is with a marriage within the family.

581 While such exchange as emerges from marriage defies the
571 making of pronouncements about the guiding principle behind alliance in purely structural terms, it does expose the factor that the distribution of human resources is influenced by both social and economic calculation of a given situation.

584 Negotiations are always begun on the side of the prospective groom. No father would attempt to initiate negotiations

584 on behalf of his daughter, although within the informal network of female rumors the father's disposition in the matter may be learned. Even before negotiations begin there is a prelude in which gifts are given to the father of the prospective bride. Among the humblest families there is a period in which one brings over a cone of sugar, a block of rock salt, some kilos of tea, or a chicken. These gifts are regarded as friendship gifts in order to evaluate how the family might look towards a match. During such a period nothing is spoken of marriage and there is no obligation on either party from these gifts. Attitudes are being tested and if the result appears to be negative the process ends at this point. There is nothing to prevent a father from receiving gifts of this sort from several prospective families and, indeed, they may become competitive, although this is frowned upon. Naturally, the wealthier a man, the more expensive and extensive are the gifts from a prospective groom's family. The scale of gift is roughly arrived at but everyone in the community seems to have an approximate notion of how much is involved in even setting up the conditions of friendship whereby negotiations can begin. Since there are no overriding principles whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry because of their location within the structure, this initial gift helps guarantee that women circulate in their proper class. It was commonly acknowledged that it would require gifts in excess of 700 dirhams to place one of the most prominent men in the Beni Wariyaghar in a responsive mood. This man had received suitors

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584 431 for his daughter before and had accepted their gifts but subsequent negotiations had broken down. Generally, a man will not offer such gifts unless he believes he had a good chance of succeeding. Once the father or guardian of the girl has expressed an interest, all subsequent exchanges are not regarded as gifts but as negotiated prices.

584 [594] [431] Once the conditions for commencing negotiations appear propitious, a group of male relatives from the boy's side visits the home of the girl's family. Again it is customary to bring a lamb, loaves of bread, sugar, and tea, although the amount depends on the wealth of the family. The request for the girl is made on this occasion. After the meal has been served, the guests and host go through a prescribed formula. "Do you know why we have come?" The host responds: "Yes. You have come as my guests." The spokesman replies: "No. We have come to ask for your daughter." They then commence the bargaining. There are two separate categories of items that are discussed. There is the [583] sdaq, or dowry, that must be paid the father of the bride in order to provide her trousseau. This is always in cash. Second, there is bargaining in the amount of goods the groom's family are willing to spend on the ceremony. Both sides will argue over how many bulls, or sheep, or goats shall be provided for the ceremony, along with the quantity of barley and wheat, the loaves of bread, kilos of sugar and tea, and the liters of cooking oil.

584 583 The major expenditure, however, is the sdaq or the gift from the groom's family to the bride's family to purchase her

584 583 trousseau. The sdaq does not seem to be regarded as a purchase sum which transfers rights in ownership from one family to another. Although such a transfer may be regarded as an attribute of this exchange, this is not the indigenous explanation. By furnishing the bride with new clothings and new furniture, a husband symbolizes that he is accepting the material responsibilities of her well-being. The bride, in turn, acknowledges that she is relinquishing her material interests in her father's household. Westermarck (1914:72) says that in some places in Morocco, including tribes in the Rif, the father keeps a portion of the sdaq for his own purposes. My own field questioning resulted in no example of a parent diverting any portion of the sdaq to his own use. While this may occur on occasion, my informants seemed shocked at the notion and voiced strong disapproval.

[114] [124]

Since the bride brings no clothes purchased in her premarried days into her new home, the minimal item required for a marriage is a new wardrobe, including numerous idfina (typical female dress), belts, handkerchiefs, shawls, and slippers. Also required are a wooden chest, and a brass or copper tray and tea pot. All this is placed in the wedding chest which accompanies the bride to the wedding ceremony. It is also customary for the girl to give gifts to all close members of her family, taken from the sdaq (dress and shoes for mother, shoes for sisters, shirts for brothers).

The amount of sdaq varies considerably according to the social position of the families involved. There is considerable

584 583 haggling over the price, with each side naturally hoping to achieve the best terms. Negotiations can break off at this point but it is considered extremely bad form and every effort is made by representatives of both sides to arrive at an equitable sum. I knew of no sdaq which was less than 500 dirhams ($100) and the average seemed to fall between 500 and 1,000 584 583 114 dirhams with some payments going up to 3,000. Hart (1956:170) puts the average at between $50 and $125. The divergence of our figures no doubt stems from monetary changes over the past ten years. Hart's figures were based on the Spanish peseta, which was the form of currency up until 1958 in the Rif. My own figures are based on Moroccan dirhams established on a parity with French francs. With the incorporation of the (458) Spanish zone into the more prosperous French zone, prices for all goods have drastically spiraled upward in the northern zone over the past ten years. Hart is in agreement with my notion that these sums represent a considerable expense to the Berbers.

584 212 583 During the negotiations a fqih is present to write down the ultimate agreement over each item, whether it be ceremonial expense or sdaq. He also acts as a mediator, being presumably the only disinterested party present. When the final sum is determined, and this may take many hours and last till dawn of the next day, the fqih draws up a marriage contract. Cash for the sdaq is supposed to be turned over then, but on occasion 584 583 only a part is exchanged. All the men shake hands and,

584 583 depending on the hour, return to their respective homes or stay overnight as guest of the bride's father.

584 583 692 Once the financial arrangement has been settled, the representatives of both families go to the religious judge (qadi) in Alhucemas or Targuist and present him with the list of obligations the groom's family has accepted. The young couple are also supposed to attend this meeting, and in the urban centers it is obligatory. However, judges who serve tribal areas are rather relaxed about such attendance and are satisfied if the fathers are in agreement. It is a rule of thumb that judges [671] who serve rural Berber areas allow customary procedures to prevail over civil law if the matter does not infringe upon the security of the state.

584 583 369 184 At this point the groom's family begins to collect the necessary goods for the wedding celebration. This process may take some time, and over a year may pass between the initial agreement and the completion of the stipulated requirements of the groom. This is, however, quite rare and seems more

584 585 associated with Berbers living in the city. Among the fellah the marriage has been contracted for good reason and it is thought best to consummate it as rapidly as possible. Often the marriage ceremony takes place less than a month after the meeting to determine the expenses.

585 583 692 When all the money and goods have been collected, both parties meet with the qadi again, two or three days before the wedding ceremony. The qadi checks off all the items to make sure